5: Jochelson A-5 (1910-11) 1928 Kamchadal

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slanting position (in the sad-iron shape the narrow end was lower) so that the tallow or blubber could run down to the wick from the heat of the flame. The Kamchadal used bear's tallow or seal's blubber, and also fish oil for lighting purposes. The present Kamchadal sometimes still use stone lamps for lighting, but often a tin box, iron frying pan, or a clam-shell substitutes for the stone lamp. In order to be relieved of the sharp odor, smoke and soot of the burning lamp the present Kamchadal put over the lamp a funnel made of birch bark, upside down, the upper tube of which is led outside through the ceiling (see figures 67, 68).[1] The wick consists of a bunch of dry grass, moss or of rag placed at the edge of the slanting lamp. At present the Kamchadal women make wicks of plaited nettle threads. Like the Aleut lamps, the Kamchadal stone lamps had no bridges or special grooves for the wicks, which we find in the Eskimo lamps. The only use of the Kamchadal lamp was for lighting purposes. The Kamchadal did not warm themselves over the lamp, like the Aleut, nor cook like the Eskimo. The Kamchadal had sufficient wood for making a fire when necessary, and their hearths warmed their earth-huts and served for frying meat and cooking vegetables and soups in clay vessels. The lamp was lighted from the hearth, which was usually always burning. The hearth was covered with ashes for the night, so that the smoldering fire might not be extinguished during the night. The fire of the hearth was looked on as the protector of the dwelling, and it was regarded as an unhappy omen should it go out. Once a year, however, at the beginning of winter, the family fire was put out, the hearth cleaned from old ashes, and a new fire started by the drill and sacred fire-board. The burning stone lamps were also extinguished and lighted again from the hearth's new fire.

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The Kamchadal lamps were made mostly from hard rock material, usually varieties of quartz. No lamps of soapstone, material in use among the Eskimo, were found in the Kamchatka excavations; neither were any of bone, of which the ancient Aleut made lamps. As the wick was placed by the Kamchadal at the edge of the lamp the borders of a bone lamp would have been burned off by the flame.

The cavity for oil or fat in some Kamchadal lamps represents a flat bottom with straight sides, while in others the bottom is rounded (see Plates 14, 15).

[1] Figures 67 and 68 are taken from Dr. W. N. Trushov's book: *Along the Western Coast of Kamchatka*, Memoirs of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society on General Geography, vol. xxxviii, No. 2, St. Petersburg, 1908, in Russian, figures 28 (p. 342) and 29 (p. 342).

6:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY3 Kamchadal RY3

THE ITEL'MENS

V. V. ANTROPOVA

General Information

The ancient population of Kamchatka—the Itel'mens—have preserved their language and sense of ethnic identity only in a few villages of the southern part of the Tigil'skiy Rayon of the Koryak National Okrug. By language, the Itel'mens belong, together with the Chukchi and Koryaks, to the northeastern group of paleo-Asiatic peoples. The census of 1926–27 set the number of Itel'mens at 814.

The term Itel'men means "resident," "living man." In the documents and literature of the 18th century and later, the Itel'mens were called Kamchadals.

With the exception of the residents of a few villages, the descendants of the Itel'mens have completely merged with the Russians. Officially, they are considered Russians, but the term "Kamchadals" is still used in colloquial speech. However, it is applied not only to the Russified descendants of the Itel'mens, but also to the descendants of Russian Cossacks and peasants settled in Kamchatka in the 18th century. Before the Revolution, these component elements of the Kamchadals belonged to different social classes (Russ. "sosloviya"), but in everything else the Russian-speaking Kamchadals constituted a homogeneous group.

The nearest neighbors of the Itel'mens—the reindeer Koryaks—called them by the same name as the coastal Koryaks: Nymylyn, or "village resident." In the 18th century, the reindeer Koryaks called the Itel'mens Khonchalo, from which some students trace the origin of "Kamchatka" and "Kamchadal."

In the early 18th century, the Itel'mens were scattered virtually over the entire peninsula, from its southern tip to 58° N, interspersed in the north with the Koryaks. The largest concentration was in the valley of the Kamchatka River. At that time, a distinct group of Itel'mens, called "Near Kurilers," lived on Cape Lopatka and the first islands of the Kurile group. This group lived in direct contact with the Ainu (Kurilers) and assimilated with them to a large extent. In physical type, language and certain features of their way of life, the "Near Kurilers" were somewhat different from either the Ainu or the Itel'mens.

In the past, the Itel'mens were divided, according to language, into northern, southern and western. The former consisted of Itel'mens living along the Kamchatka River and the east coast, from the village of Uka in the

6: Antropova E-4 (no date) 19-4 RY3 Kamchadal RY3

105 The Itel'mens believed in evil mountain and forest
[176] spirits, the sea-spirit, Mitg, good protecting spirits, etc. Anthropomorphic images of the spirits were usually made of wood.

[193] The central figure of Itel'men mythology was the raven-creator, Kutkh. But he was not held in esteem, and various comical and obscene stories were told about him.

[164] The bodies of dead adults were given to the dogs to eat; children were
[156] buried in hollow trees. The Itel'men shamans did not have any special clothing or tambourines.

[199] In the middle of the 18th century, the Itel'mens were converted to Christianity, but they continued to cling to their animistic ideas.

175 Information about the abundance of fur on Kamchatka received from Luka
648 Morozko and Atlasov attracted the attention of the tsarist government and the Yakutiyan governors.

A special official—a prikashchik—was appointed to collect taxes. The Kamchatka prikashchiks, who were virtually the full masters of the peninsula, often abused their power. In addition to the fur-tax, they exacted from the population great quantities of furs for their own enrichment. The predatory extermination of fur animals, and most of all, sable, sharply reduced the catch, and the Itel'mens were often unable to pay the tax in full. The arbitrary extortion of cured fish, "sweet grass" for wine-making, lily tubers, berries, cedar nuts, seal blubber, skins, and even sleds, boats and clothing, for the benefit of the tax collectors became systematic. In addition to all this, the natives suffered from exploitative trading and its consequences—debt slavery.

175 The Itel'mens' struggle against extortions and oppression expressed
648 itself at first in attacks on individual representatives of the tsarist govern-
669 ment and raids on the tax treasury. Large uprisings broke out in 1706, 1711 and 1731.

The rebellion of 1731 involved nearly all the Itel'mens. After its suppression, a special "investigating office" was sent to the area to look into its causes. The leaders of the rebellion were executed. Some of the officials were also punished.

[161] The quelling of rebellions by armed force and the arbitrary rule of the
[731] local officials reduced the Itel'men population. But the principal reason for the population decline was the epidemics of smallpox, typhus and other diseases which devastated entire districts. The remnants of the various
[614] clans could no longer exist independently and united into larger territorial
[178] units. Thus, instead of the former clan villages, new settlements sprang up, inhabited by members of various clans. New villages were also created
[728] by compulsory resettlement. Thus, after the rebellion of 1731, the inhabitants of the village of Klyuchi were resettled in Kozyrevsk; the inhabitants of Nachiki were moved there from the western coast of the peninsula.

175 The system of tax collection through the village elders and the develop-
648 ment of barter with Russians resulted in the accumulation of private prop-
552 erty in the hands of some individuals. As early as the 1730's, there were
426 toyons (elders) who lent sables to their kinsmen to enable them to pay their tribute, in exchange for subsequent work.

175 The economic condition of the Itel'mens did not improve in the latter half
648 of the 18th century. This was due above all to the system of tax collection and the tyranny of the local authorities. Taxes were collected, not from the present population, but according to lists, which included men long dead. The living thus had to pay taxes for dead relatives. Extremely onerous, too,
[466] was the imposition of the duty to transport numerous officials, as well as cargo, without compensation all over the peninsula. This took the men away from their occupations and condemned them to frequent periods of famine.

6:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY3 Kamchadal RY3

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View of the village of Sedanka, early 20th century.

The development of trade gave rise to the exploitation of the Itel'mens by merchants. These gave the Itel'mens goods on credit, often against their will; then, if the debt was not paid in time, they doubled or tripled the sum. Often, an Itel'men would have to pay as long as he lived for some small article, such as a knife. This type of trade did not disappear even after the formation of the Russo-American Company (1799). The company sold its wares at prices 10 times higher than their actual value. By the 1860's, the indebtedness of the Itel'mens to this company had risen to the grandiose sum of 150,000 rubles.

The Itel'men economy remained essentially subsistence. The fishing catch went solely for the satisfaction of the fishermen's needs, and none of it was sold. The only articles that had commodity value were furs. Villages were governed by elders, elected by the villagers and approved by the Russian administration. Very often the post of elder was hereditary. Survivals of clan organization were preserved among the Itel'mens until the 20th century. These included elements of collective production and distribution of food products—collective fishing by means of fishtraps, collective seal hunting, division of the carcass of a whale cast up on the shore, the custom of mutual aid, etc.

The first efforts at introducing agriculture were made after the founding of a monastery (the Uspenskaya Pustyn') on Kamchatka, in the first quarter of the 18th century. In the 1740's the first group of Russian peasants was resettled in Kamchatka. Further groups of settlers followed, but agriculture enjoyed small success. The administrative method of introducing agriculture among the Itel'mens could yield no appreciable results with the primitive agricultural techniques of that time. The products of agriculture therefore held a small place in Itel'men economy. Gardening was more successful. In the second half of the 19th century, all Itel'men villages had small gardens, producing potatoes, turnips and horse-radish. But even this gardening was negligible in scope and extremely primitive. The natives were unskilled in tending plants; they dug the soil with wooden hoes, did not know about watering, and so on.

Cattle were first brought to Kamchatka in 1733, and again, from time to time, in succeeding years. The livestock was kept grazing all year; there was little preparation of hay. Horses were also left to their own devices, and became so wild that they were difficult to catch. They were used chiefly in autumn as riding and pack animals. Wheel transport, such as the cart,

7: Lesseps T-3 (1787-88)1790 Kamchadal

They are but

164/757 little ſubject to the ſcurvy; their uſe of wild garlic, and various fruits and berries, is a preſervative. The Ruſſians and other ſettlers are more frequently afflicted with this diſeaſe.

Conſumptions are frequent enough; but boils, tumors, abſceſſes, and wens, are very common. They have no mode of curing them, but by inciſion or extirpation; and they uſe for theſe operations a knife, or perhaps ſimply a ſharp ſtone, which ſupplies the place of a lancet. Such inſtruments are calculated to impreſs us with no very high opinion of the ſkill of the operators; and it is obvious that the art of ſurgery, brought to ſuch perfection with us, is in a ſtate of the utmoſt barbariſm at Kamtſchatka.

178/756 Phyſic does not appear to have made a greater progreſs; though it muſt be confeſſed

7:Lesseps T-3 (1787-88)1790 Kamchadal

178/756 feſſed that theſe people have gained ſomething by learning to diſtruſt their impoſtors and abſurd empiricks. Formerly, ſelf-created magicians, called *tchamans*, taking advantage of the credulity of the Kamtſchadales, turned doctors of phyſic, and thus ſecured to themſelves a double claim to their veneration and confidence*. Their ſtrange dreſs contributed to the impoſition, and ſuited perfectly their extravagant mummeries. What was told me upon the ſubject would exceed the utmoſt ſtretch of faith, if we had never heard of the Bohemians and other ſorcerers of this kind. It is not poſſible to form an idea of the buffooneries of theſe ſuppoſitious phyſicians, and the impertinencies they relate, to make their preſcriptions or pretended revelations go down. It is probable that their cures

* In an oſtrog at ſome diſtance from Bolcheretſk, I had afterwards an opportunity of conſidering this ſubject more fully, and my obſervations will be found in their proper place.

7:Lesseps T-3 (1787-88)1790 Kamchadal

178/756 were frequently attended with fatal conſequences, and that the number of victims equalled that of their patients. Tired at laſt of being duped at the expence of their lives, the Kamtſchadales began to be diſſatisfied with theſe impoſtors, who gradually loſt their credit, and ſunk into contempt and oblivion. Such has been the fate alſo of the chamans. The feeble light which the Ruſſian commerce diffuſed through the country, proved ſufficient to open the eyes of the inhabitants. They perceived at once the abſurdity of the magic art of their doctors. As it ceaſed to be reſpected, it was no longer lucrative, and the number of magicians diminiſhed of courſe. Diſguſted with the trade, the men abandoned it; and it has ſince been taken up by ſome old women, who, poſſeſſing leſs ſkill, have doubtleſs fewer cuſtomers *.

The

* The revolution which took place in Kamtſchatka reſpecting the chamans, is the preciſe hiſtory of all our mountebanks.

G /358 cont./
343 merely an approximately square hole which is just big enough so that a person can go through it in a stooped position, and whose cover is a board that fits it exactly, before which a crosspiece of wood is advanced instead of a bolt (3). The interior of the store-

3. An illustration of the front side of such a storehouse, among other things, will be found below on a plate showing a funeral procession of the Gilyak.

house is usually divided by a partition into two sections, which are connected by a door, so that in it, as the accompanying plan indicates, there are eleven separate, larger or smaller wall surfaces, along which the supplies of fish are stacked.

G
342 /359/ Like the earth yurt, all the pile buildings men-
343 tioned above, the summer yurt, the storehouse, etc., are original,
171 peculiarly Gilyak structures which the neighbors of the Gilyak, the Tungusic Amur-peoples, lack, but which recur among many other Paleo-Asiatic tribes. For example, according to
K [175] [342] Krascheninnikof's and Steller's descriptions and an illustration given by the latter, the summer dwellings of the Kamchadal are pyramidal huts built on high piles, which are called balagan
000 by the Russians (1). The Eskimo of the American Northwest along
K [113]

1. Krasheninnikov", "Opis. zemli Kamchatki" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1819, p. 37). Steller, Beschreib. von dem Lande Kamtschatka, Frankfort and Leipzig, 1774, p. 215. Steller also gives the dampness of the air and the ground as the compelling reason for the construction of such "airy dwellings" on Kamchatka. This explains why these peculiar dwellings continued to be retained after the earth yurts, as mentioned above, had already been forced out by Russian-type dwellings.

K [132]

K [178] [179]